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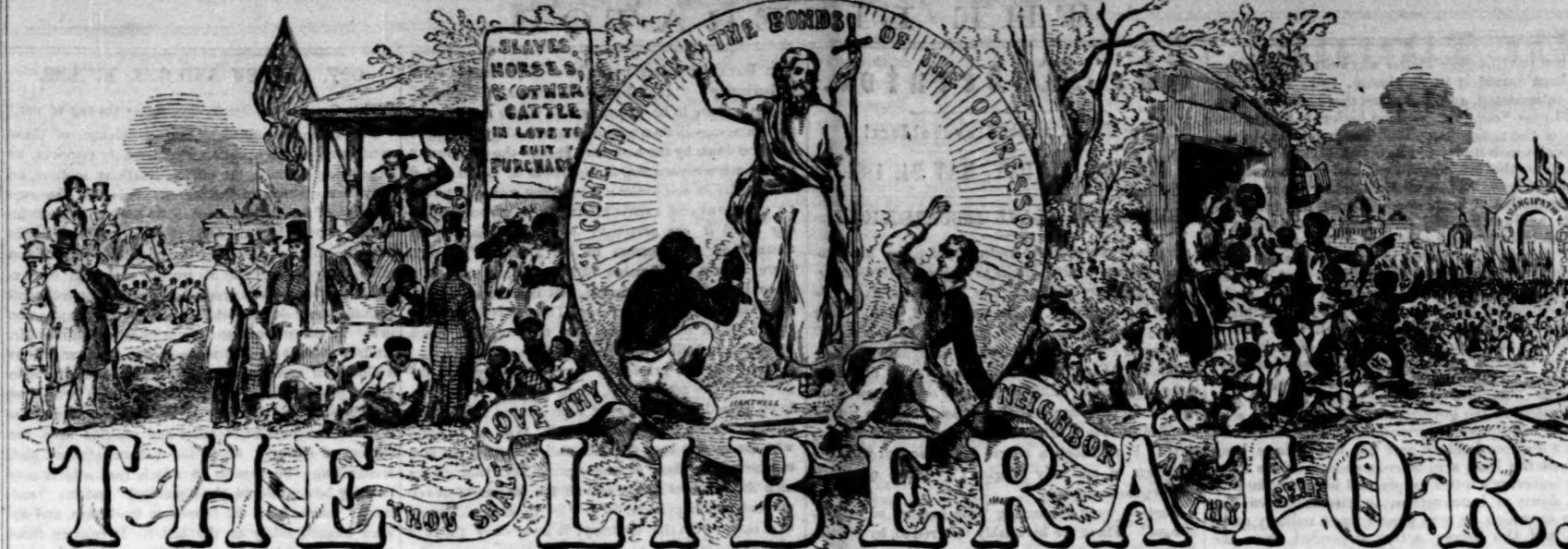
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WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.



Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.

VOL. XXXI. NO. 21.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, MAY 24, 1861.

WHOLE NO. 1587.

Refuge of Oppression.

NORTHERN EDITORS AND PREACHERS.

A reason sometimes assigned for the apparent determination of the Northern people to bring upon the whole country all the horrors of civil war is, that it is necessary to prove to the South that the men of the North are brave men. But, in truth, no such necessity exists; for, that the men of the North are, in general, brave men, we of the Southern States, believe almost as firmly as we believe that Bennett, of the New York *Herald*, philosopher Greeley, the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, General James Watson Webb, and the drunken braggart stalled in the Presidential mansion at Washington, are unmilitary and immeasurable cowards.

If, however, the men of the North are resolved to give us that very superficial proof of their manhood, we can only say to them, Come on! At the same time, we earnestly advise the five worthies above named and specified, by all means to stay at home; for, although their undoubted privilege, as the most helpless and pitiable of non-combatants, would never be violated by any Southern soldiers, any more than if they came equipped in the petticoat for which nature originally designed them, and from which she ultimately exempted them, by a freak past the wit of man to account for, yet we are by no means prepared to guarantee that our slaves might not take a fancy to hang them as Abolitionists and insurrectionists.

By all means, let them stay at home and let the Northern fancy by speeches, sermons and discourses demonstrating the superior breadth of Northern courage as compared with Southern.

There is a potent and sustaining consolation in the fact that the military status of the South is far superior to that of the North—whose mercenary legions of pickpockets, burglars, rowdies, tape measures and pumpkins are now attempting to organize themselves into an army. There is also a source of abiding satisfaction in the truth, which ages of experience have established, that no free people can be subdued, were the invaders ten-fold the stronger and in numbers and in means.—*Richmond Whig*.

To ARMS! TO ARMS! Unless we win the battle, Virginia is really quite ruined. The people who will sue on her are relentless, coarse, greedy and bloody. They will pillage our houses, violate our women, insult and murder defenceless citizens. The truest patriots of the State, who have not had the good sense to get themselves suddenly killed in some battle, will die by the hands of lawless and irresponsible ruffians on the pollards after mockery of trial, or drag out a poor and miserable remnant of life in prison.

The loud called Virginia will remain; but so changed, so utterly revolutionized, inhabited by a population sprung from such ruthless confiscations and proscriptions, that it will be not more recognizable than Italy after its partition between the Goths and the Vandals.

To prevent the imminent wretchedness, the indescribable calamity that hangs over us, there is but one thing to do—and that is, to hurry up the troops to the places of rendezvous, and to concentrate the armies who must save us, if saved we can be.

Virginia alone is perfectly able to turn the current of invasion; and she will do it perfectly well, if her force is handled with decision and intelligence.

She can meet and beat an army of fifty thousand volunteers with absolute certainty; and that is more than the North can get here before the crisis of the danger has passed.—*Richmond Examiner*.

—*The Drunken Mutineers*. We would enter into no negotiation now with Lincoln, unless a canon was planted behind us, prepared to sweep him from the earth, upon the first indication of perfidy. This is the flag of truce under whose protection we would trust ourselves. None other would be held by Abraham Lincoln.

This same is engaged now in another fraud.

Who believes him? Not we. They are designed for offensive operations. They are intended to menace Virginia and will make a descent somewhere upon our soil. Very well. Let the drunken mutineers at Washington drive on in their crazy craft.

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—*The Memphis Bulletin* proposes to steal everything that is owned by non-residents! It will be safer to quote its own words, lest our readers think we have misapprehended them. It says:

"There is enough real and personal estate in this city, owned by Cincinnatians alone, if sold at auction, to equip for service the five thousand volunteers now under arms in this city. We remember that the stock of our Gas Company is held by Cincinnatians. We do not forget that the stock of our banks is owned in part in Cincinnati and the residue in Philadelphia, New York, and Boston. There is not less than twenty millions of railroad, bank, and other stocks held by Northern men in this State. Tennessee has issued eighteen millions of time bonds; these are all 'debtors'—except perhaps, one or two millions. This city has outstanding one and a half million of bonds, many of them in Cincinnati, the balance in the North. This county has issued notes payable in five years, all held, or very nearly all, in the East. Adjacent counties have done the same thing to build railroads. Then the people of this city owe, perhaps, half a million in Cincinnati. The whole amount foots up an incalculable sum, of which, in point of fact, the North has been enabled to rob the South by a tariff system, operating so unjustly upon us, that if we had only paid to the Federal Government the taxes that should have been imposed upon

Selections.

SOUTHERN PRIVATEERS AND THE SLAVES
IN THE SOUTHERN STATES.

The New York *Courier and Enquirer*, in an editorial, apparently from Gen. Webb's own hand, discourses as follows:

"Most assuredly these *madmen* are calling upon themselves a fearful retribution. We are no abolitionists, as the columns of the *Courier and Enquirer*, for the whole period of its existence, now thirty-four years, will abundantly demonstrate. And for the whole of that period, except the first six months of its infancy, it has been under our exclusive editorial charge."

"Never, during that long period, has an abolitionist found its way into our columns; and for the good reason, that we have respected, honored and revered the Constitution; and recognized our duty to obey and enforce its mandates. But Rebellion stalks through the land. A confederacy of slaves has repudiated that Constitution; and, placing themselves beyond its pale, openly seek to destroy it, and ruin all whom it protects. They no longer profess any obedience to its requirements; and, of course, cannot claim its protection. By their own act, our duty to respect their rights, under that Constitution, ceases with their repudiation of it; and our right to liberate their slave property is as clear as would be our right to liberate the slaves of Cuba in a war with Spain."

"A band of pirates threaten and authorize piracy upon Northern commerce; and from the moment that it is carried into execution, the *fetters will fall from the shackled limbs of their slaves*, and they will be encouraged and aided in the establishment of their freedom. Suppose *Cuba* were to issue letters of marque against our commerce, and, according to the *Charleston Mercury*, seize 'upon the rich prizes which may be coming from foreign lands,' does any sane man doubt that we should at once invade that island, and liberate her slaves? Or does any Stateman or Jurist, question our right so to do? And why, then, should we hesitate to pursue a similar course in respect to this so-called Southern Confederacy?"

"Spain, as a well-established nation, and recognized as such by all the powers of the world, would have the right, according to the laws of nations, to adopt such a course of proceeding; but she would do it at her peril, and all weighing the consequences. But the rebel government of the slave States possesses no such right. The act would be no more or less than piracy; and we should not only hang at the yard-arm all persons caught in the practice, but we should be compelled, in self-defence, to carry the war into Africa and deal with the slaves of the *Confederacy* precisely as we should, under similar circumstances, deal with those of *Cuba*."

"The richly laden ships of the North," says the *Mobile Advertiser*, "swarm on every sea, and are absolutely unprotected. The harvest is ripe." We admit it; but gather it if you dare. Venture upon the capture of the poorest of those richly laden ships, and, from that moment, your slaves become freemen, doing battle in *Freedom's cause*. 'Hundreds and hundreds of millions of the property of the enemy invite us to spoil him— to poll these Egyptians,' says the same paper. True, but you dare not venture upon the experiment; or, if you should be so rash as to make the experiment, *your fourteen hundred millions of slave property will cease to exist*, and you will find *four millions of liberated slaves* in your midst, wreaking upon their present masters the smothered vengeance of a servile race, who, for generation after generation, have groaned under the lash of the negro driver and his inhuman employer.

"The risk of the privateer," says the same organ of the rebel confederacy, "will still be trifling; but he will continue to reap the harvest." His risk will only be that of his neck, and his 'harvest' will be a halter.

"But the 'risk,' may, the *certainity* of the punishment to be visited upon the slave confederacy, will be far greater of infinitely greater magnitude than they can well conceive; it will be no more or less than the loss of *all their slave property*, accompanied with the necessity of continuing a hand to hand, for their lives, with the servile race so long accustomed to the lash, and the torture, and the branding, and maiming of their inhuman masters; a nation of robbers, who now, in the face of the civilized world, repudiate their just debts, rob banks and mints, sell frenzied captives in an unarmed vessel into perpetual slavery, trample upon law and order, insult our flag, capture our forts and arsenals, and, finally, invite pirates to prey upon our commerce!"

"Such a nest of pirates may do some mischief, and greatly alarm the timid." But the men of the North know how to deal with them; and we tell them, once for all, that, if they dare grant a solitary letter of marque, and the person or persons acting under it venture to assail the poorest of our vessels in the peaceful navigation of the ocean, or the coasts and rivers of our country—from that moment their doom is sealed, and slavery ceases to exist. We speak the unanimous sentiment of our people; and to that sentiment all in authority will be compelled to bow submissively. So let us hear no more of the idle gaeanonade of the 'Chivalry' of a nest of robbers, who seek to enlarge the area of their public and private virtues, &c."

This is very plain talk, and cannot easily be misapprehended by those whom it concerns.

A SOUTH-SIDE VIEW.

The New York *Examiner* (Baptist) mentions a letter from the owner of two and three hundred slaves—a man who is not able to accept the modern doctrine as to slavery:

"I should be rejoiced to gain my living, and the support of my family for the rest of my life, by the labor of my hands, if I could thus gain the freedom of my slaves. How can men talk of slavery being a moral and Christian institution? The lie is in their right hand. They know it is just the reverse; and it is almost an impossibility to preach Christ faithfully under it. Oh, Lord, deliver thy people from this awful curse! Of one thing I am convinced, that slavery is wrong, and I pray God to have the day of emancipation, and I will do all I can to further this object; but these views I cannot express alone. The Union is most ardently to be desired; but I cannot help feeling that should much prefer disunion, if by it there could be any advancement made toward abolishing slavery. I would willingly become poor, to give my share in this property up. Only the thought of upholding Italian liberty, while a poor slave is beaten because he prays, which was lately done on a place not far from us. My tongue, for some time past, seems tied, and I cannot speak for Jesus. Glaring inconsistency stares me in the face, and the words die in my heart without utterance. I hardly know what to do but pray, and to this I intend to give myself with more earnestness than I ever have yet."

NO RIGHT TO SECEDE.

Our review of Mr. Bassett's Plea, thus far, has been chiefly occupied with the principles involved in the case. Only incidentally and hint-wise have we alluded to the *fact*. It is time, now, to make a formal statement of them as compared with the assumptions of the Plea.

OF THE SEcession OF THE GULF STATES.—

"The great event of the day and of the world," says Mr. Bassett, "is the formal dissolution of the American Union."

The formal separation of the States, so long increasingly probable, has at length become a matter of history. The spiritated State of South Carolina has led the way, and by the highest act of popular sovereignty, formally repealed the ordinance of 1788, whereby the Constitution of the United States of America was ratified, and has dissolved her Union with the other States of this Confederacy."

Again, in contending against "coercion," as being "itself the destruction of the Government," Mr. Bassett says:

"It is destruction of the Government, because it is a political revolution. It is a change of the whole spirit of the government. The Confederacy of sovereign States hold together by common interest and mutual attachment, to a consolidated empire, bound together by military force."

We join issue with Mr. Bassett upon a number of the supposed facts here involved.

4. We deny the "formal dissolution of the American Union." We deny that the American Union is dissolved, any more than it was six months ago. Nor is there a more prospect now, of its being dissolved at all, as there was then.

Six months ago, slavery stood strong, in the comparison with its present position. Its friends and its enemies saw less signs of its speedy abolition than they now do. Slavery is the only disturbing cause that has overthrown the Union. In proportion as the prospects of a speedy abolition of slavery increase, the prospects of a dissolution of the Union diminish.

Six months ago, a much larger portion of the people of the non-slaveholding States were inclined to allow a "formal dissolution of the Union," than there are at present. Abolitionists were, many of them, in favor of a dissolution of the Union, as an anti-slavery measure, who are now, with Wendell Phillips, in favor of a war to preserve the Union by an abolition of slaves. Many who were not Abolitionists, including six months ago, in favor of a peaceful dissolution of the Union, for the sake of slaves, are now, in opposition to the agitation of slaves, apt to put a stop, as they said, to agitations on the slave question. But now that the slaveholders have attempted it by robbery and force, they are determined that it shall not be done at all. These changes have in part, taken place since Mr. Bassett wrote, but the causes that have produced them were at work then. Mr. Bassett misunderstood the matured facts, and the embryo facts in process of forming.

5. We deny that the declared secession and proclaimed dissolution of the Union was "formally" made, or according to any appropriate forms of such a proceeding. Not only were the other parties to the contract not consulted in respect to its dissolution, but the proper forms of procuring the action of the States that have been declared out of the Union were not taken. Whatever was done, was done irregularly, and without the forms necessary to give the acts validity, had they been ever so lawful and desirable in themselves. This will more fully appear, as we proceed.

III. We deny that any act of popular sovereignty was witnessed, when the secession of the several States was declared. On the contrary, we affirm that those who put forth those declarations were *users*, not *makers* of the Union.

Yes. But what, and whose is that rebellion? You don't call the man a rebel, merely because he lives in one of those States, do you? You see no rebellion in those residing there, (if there be any,) who make no resistance to the laws, or to the government, who disturb not the public property, but are peaceful and quiet?

Oh! no! Certainly not. But are there any such?

Yes. There are the Quakers, in the first place. They are not rebels, are they?

No. But there are not many of them.

But there are others in those States, beside Quakers, who are no more in favor of the rebellion than they are. We ought not to put them down, ought we?

Certainly not. Put down only the rebels.

Well, then, there are four millions of slaves. They have made no rebellion, have they?

No. We must put down only the rebels.

But who are they, except the slaveholders, and those who are under their control, or who are sympathetic with them?

No. *Weld*. *Nobody* I suppose. But what of all that?

Just this, neighbor. Slaveholders are the chief rebels, the instigators of all the others, and all their rebellion comes of their being slaveholders. Had slavery been abolished years ago, there would have been no rebellion, would there?

No. I suppose not. I have always understood that the rebellion was raised by the principal slaveholders, because they thought their rights of slaveholding, as they call them, were not as fully protected as they desired.

Ever so. It comes, then, you see, to just this. *Slavery* is at the bottom of it all, just as *slum* is at the bottom of the murders committed by a drunk man.

Take away the rum, and the murderer becomes a sober man, and a safe neighbor. Just so, take away *slavery*, allow no man to be a *slaveholder*, and you will have no rebellions to be put down, then.

Slavery, or more properly *slaveholding*, is, itself, the rebellion; that needs to be put down.

It is an act of lawlessness, a defiance of law, for one man to hold another man as a slave, subject to his despotic irresponsible control.

The man that does this, and claims it as his right to be a slaveholder, is, in that very act, a rebel against all just government, and against the first principles upon which all government, all law, and all jurisprudence—deserving the name—are founded.

A community of such men as these, who are capable of rebelling, upon the start, in the first place, and make it do the most detestable work, as they have done, for the last fifty years, they will not make war upon it in the manner they now do. But the very moment that they think it is passing out of their control, the bloody flag of rebellion is raised, as we have just witnessed.

The cry of "DOWN WITH REBELLION!" rightly interpreted, must mean—"DOWN WITH SLAVERY!" If it mean anything less than this, it all comes to nothing.

If peace were made to-morrow, without abolishing slavery, the rebellion would be left in full blast, as it has been, for fifty years past, and all the more dangerous and mischievous, because nothing was done against it.

While Floyd, Davis, and company were having full swing, and stealing all the money and arms they could lay hands on, without the knowledge of the people, for the last fifty years, they did not make war upon it in the manner they now do. But the very moment that they think it is passing out of their control, the bloody flag of rebellion is raised, as we have just witnessed.

Slavery is the rebellion to be put down.

It is the *act* done by the *people*, effectually, and for all coming times

GEN. BUTLER AND SLAVE INSURRECTIONS.

Gen. Butler has done a very indiscreet, not to say improper thing, in sending to the press the unfinished correspondence between himself and Gov. Andrew, without asking the Governor's consent. Gov. Andrew's letter to him had not been made public, nor had the substance of it or any reference to it found its way into the public prints, so far as I am aware, and I read the newspapers pretty carefully. Yet, for some reason or other, best known to himself, the General sends to the Boston *Journal* a copy of the Governor's dispatch and a lengthy reply of his own, which reply, judging from its tone, and the date of publication, must have reached the press about the time as it reached the General. He sends this long letter of special pleading to the public, without the Governor's consent, and without waiting to know whether the correspondence was to end there or not, was certainly a great piece of indiscretion. I do not think anybody here is disposed to criticize harshly Gen. Butler's course. He is looked upon with favorable eyes here, and especially by his old political opponents, who have always treated him with great leniency and kindness, as I have no doubt he will readily admit. But this is emphatically, as the London *Times* says, a man's war, and the people must and will criticize the way in which it is carried on. It appears that there was, after all, no servile insurrection for Gen. Butler to put down; only a rumor of one, and we are left wholly in the dark as to the character of the rumors. Gen. Butler makes his appearance in a hostile or quasi hostile country; somebody tells him there is an insurrection of slaves against their masters; he tells Gov. Hicks that he will aid in suppressing it; and Gov. Hicks submits him by saying that he can deal with it himself. These seem to be all the facts in the case. It would seem to have been a proper subject of inquiry for Gen. Butler, whether, possibly, the servile insurrection was not an insurrection of loyal people against secession traitors—quite the most likely sort of rebellion at that time—in plain sight. So he had been at that time in Virginia, and Gov. Letcher had informed him that an insurrection had broken out at Wheeling, and was fast spreading through the thirty counties of Western Virginia, threatening to break the laws of the State, and dismember the Old Dominion itself? Would he have volunteered to use the Massachusetts forces to put down the Wheeling rebellion? Of course not. Yet, for aught he knew, the rumored rebellion which he was so eager to put down was a rebellion of loyal white men, or loyal free colored men, instead of slaves. His principle of action, in which he justifies his course, is expressed in the following words: "I ascribed both the Governor and the Mayor, that, supported by the authorities of the State and city, I should repress all hostile demonstrations against the laws of Maryland and the United States." But it is perfectly clear that he can maintain no such ground as this, for the laws of the United States and the laws of the disloyal States are incompatible with each other, and he cannot support both. If he undertakes to maintain the laws of Virginia, he becomes an accomplice of Virginia's treason; does he not? His oath of allegiance binds him to maintain the laws of the *United States*, not of Maryland or of Virginia; and if he owes allegiance to any other power than the *United States*, it is the conscience and the public sentiment of the State whose troops he commands. The general paints in glowing colors the excellent results of his offer to Gov. Hicks; but I presume that the friends of his friend at Annapolis and the common understanding that there were there to repress treason, did much more to produce quiet than his unasked offer to put down an insurrection which never existed.

So much for the General's account of what he did at Annapolis. His statement of what he shall do in future is a pure piece of special pleading, which reminds his old friends of his pleas at the bar when a rich case of mal-practice or mal-treatment of a seaman fell into his hands. His supposition ease—"Horror of St. Domingo," "rapine, arson, and murder," "war upon defenceless women and children," "ordealities too horrible to be named," "tomahawk and scalping knife," "four millions of worse than savages," "nameless horrors of a servile insurrection," and so on—no existence in fact or in fancy, except in the fancy of one who has been in a habit of making this kind of stump speeches, to justify his subversive to the power which is now in actual rebellion against the United States. The question presented to Gen. Butler was whether he should use his troops, on public and probably interested rumor, to put down a rebellion of men who, for aught he knew, might be loyal black or white citizens cooperating with himself in putting down armed resistance to the Government. Or, supposing there had been a factual rebellion of slaves against their masters, the question was whether these masters, traitors in all probability, should be allowed to take care of their own little insurrections—to find out how they liked the idea—or have them put down by United States troops, so as to be allowed full opportunity to carry into operation their schemes against the Government. The General will not be able to escape from the actual state of the facts by special pleading; though I have no reason to suppose that his action will be the subject of much comment in future. I understand very well that his position is a difficult one, and I admit that there may possibly be a justification in the emergencies of warfare for departing from the line of rectitude and principle; but that this war can enlist the heart and conscience and brain of the North, so necessary to carry it on successfully, by a system of operations like that which Gen. Butler has commenced, I do not believe.—*Boston Atlas and Bee*, May 20th.

THE SOUTH AND HER NEGROES.

A Virginia Unionist, recently driven from the State for refusing to pledge his support to Jeff. Davis treason, writes a letter in relation to the South and its negroes, from which we make the following extract:—

"This question is beginning to assume importance. Southern newspapers boast of the loyalty of their slaves, of their anxiety to fight their Northern enemies, and triumphantly tell us that thousands are now throwing up defiance and are otherwise engaged in the service of the Southern army, and many slaveholders confidently believe that their servants will assist them in this fight; but, in answering this question, I shall be obliged to tear off the mask."

"Despite the efforts of Southern masters, large numbers of slaves and free negroes have learned to read, and many of them are far more intelligent than the 'poor white trash' with which the slave States abound. During the late Presidential campaign, the most interested and eager listeners at political meetings were these people; they communicated to each other what they heard, and they all understood that the question of slavery was involved in the contest, and very many believed that the election of Mr. Lincoln would secure their emancipation, and many acted in accordance with this belief. One out of many facts will illustrate this point. Soon after the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln, seventeen slaves, living on a plantation near Petersburg, Va., repaired to their master early one morning, and the spokesman of the party boldly told him that they had served him long enough; that they were free now, and had merely called to tell him that they were going away, and on they went. The master had no power to stop them, so he reached Petersburg before them, where he had the whole party arrested, sold, and sent to the far South, and a prevalent opinion among them is that this was a fulfillment of the prophecy recorded in the eleventh chapter of Daniel. They have their revolutionary and patriotic songs, which they sing in private. They hold secret religious meetings, the burden of their prayer being that the Lord will help the North, and hasten the day of their emancipation. A few days ago, I was travelling in the interior of Virginia. Night overtook me in the neighborhood of a farm house, where I was entertained until the next day."

"That night I chanced to hear the evening devotions of the slaves in one of their huts. I was an unobserved spectator. I heard them pray for the success of the North, and one old woman wept for joy when told that the Northern armies were soon coming to set them free. 'Oh! good massas Jesus,' said she, 'let the time be short.' During this time they heard the clang of arms in their master's house, for two of his sons were members of a troop of horse, ready to start in the morning for Richmond, and were practising with the broadswords. To their masters, the slaves pretend entire ignorance of this whole movement, but to white men in whom they confide, they reveal their hopes, fears, desires, and plans. They have no arms, and could not use them if they had; but they have other means of destruction more potent and fearful, which no power can prevent their using. When the time comes for them to act, they will know no love stronger than the love of liberty."

SLAVES IN NORTH CAROLINA. They have a singular way of testifying to their confidence in slaves in North Carolina, as shown by the writer of a private letter, as follows:—

"It may be supposed that we have a sharp eye on the black population at this time. So far, they appear to be orderly and loyal. In Wilkes, about a week since, one morning, a negro was found dead, hanged by the neck to a tree. Such is the report. Two or three nights since, a slave belonging to one of the celebrated Siamese Twins, who live in our neighboring county of Surry, was challenged by the patrol, showed signs of hostility, when he was immediately shot dead."

The General's letter of excuse for violating the common decencies of private military correspondence only makes his position still worse. It rises from disrespect into impertinence. A less obtuse sense of gentlemanly and military duty and decorum might have suggested to him the propriety of a letter of inquiry to the Governor, before seeking an occasion to rush into print on an assumption of conduct on the part of the Governor unworthy of a gentleman. But we return to the first two letters.

THE LIBERATOR.

The Liberator.

No Union with Slaveholders!

BOSTON, FRIDAY, MAY 24, 1861.

REPRESSING SLAVE INSURRECTIONS.

In his letter to Gov. Andrew, defending his atrocious overture to Gov. Hicks to suppress a slave insurrection in Maryland, with the Massachusetts troops under his command, whenever needed, Gen. Butler astutely conjures up "all the horrors of St. Domingo" for popular effect,—"a million times magnified," too—and asks, "Could we justify ourselves to ourselves in letting loose four millions of *worse than savages* upon the homes and hearts of the South? Can we be justified to the Christian community of Massachusetts? Would such a course be consonant with the teachings of our holy religion?" These questions we propose to answer.

First—a word respecting "the horrors of St. Domingo." These are invariably referred to, by the trai- ducers of the colored race, as though their perpetration was exclusively confined to the black population of that island; whereas, the real truth is, they were commenced, prosecuted, and carried to an unsurpassable height of fiendishness by the French invading mercenaries, and only imitated, at last, to a limited degree, by the struggling blacks, in retaliation and as a measure of self-defence. On the contrary, it is to obey the will of God—to conform to the law of nature—to place the soul of man in right relations, and under wholesome constraint—to promote peace and good will, and stop the shedding of blood—to do as we would be done by. Hence, immediate emancipation is required by every principle of justice, and every dictate of mercy.

In asking whether such a course would be "consonant with the teachings of our holy religion," General Butler shows that he is quite ignorant of the nature of that religion. Will he dare affirm that Christianity gives one man the right to own, as *homo sacerdotum*, another man—to chain him, brand him, mutilate him, insult and degrade him, work him without wages, deny him the title of father, rob him of his children, hunt him with bloodhounds when attempting to escape, and violate the chastity of his wife or daughter, *ad libitum*? Is not all this bad as poisoning, or resorting to the assassin's knife? Does not "our holy religion" enjoin upon us to "remember them that are in bonds for self-defence. Just as Gen. Butler is warning the Southern traitors, that, if they resort to hellish deeds against his own loyal forces, he will "better the instruction" by a ten-fold vengeance! The French troops took the initiative in every act of diabolical cruelty, and committed the most frightful atrocities, before the blacks could be induced to follow their example; but what they did is never held up to the execration of the world, but carefully suppressed, and only the grieved and suffering party are depicted as having been animated by a fiendish spirit—simply because of their complexional identity with the fettered millions in our own land! Such conduct is unspeakably mean and malignant. Moreover, Gen. Butler fails into the common American blunder, of representing "the horrors of St. Domingo" to have been the result of a slave insurrection. Had this been true, then? As tyrants sow, they shall also reap. Men who glory in Bunker Hill and Yorktown must not deny to the oppressed any of the means necessary to secure their freedom, whatever becomes of their oppressors. The exigencies of the case furnish their own justification. "Revenge is sweet" to the white man whose rights are cloven down—even to Gen. Butler—why not to the black man? But the terrible scene referred to gives out of an attempt to re-enslave the people of St. Domingo by Napoleon, seven years after they had been set free by an act of the French government; during which period, everything went on prosperously with the emancipated.

"After this public act of emancipation," says Col. Malenfant, who was resident in the island at the time, "the negroes remained quiet, both in the South and in the West, and they continued to work upon all the plantations. Upon those estates which were abandoned, they continued their labors, where there were any, even inferior agents, to guide them; and on those estates, where no white men were left to direct them, they took themselves to the planting of provisions; but upon all the plantations where the whites resided, the blacks continued to labor as quietly as before. On the Plantation Gouraud, consisting of more than four hundred and fifty laborers, *not a single negro refused to work*; and yet this plantation was thought to be under the worst discipline and the slaves the most idle of any in the plain!" General Lacroix, who published his "Memoirs for a History of St. Domingo," at Paris, in 1819, uses these remarkable words: "The colony marched, *as by enchantment*, towards its ancient splendor; *cultivation prospered*; every day produced perceptible proofs of its progress. The city of the Cape and the plantations of the north rose up again *alive to the eye*." General Vincent, who was a general of a brigade of artillery in St. Domingo, and a proprietor of estates in that island, at the same period, declared to the Directory of France, that "everything was going on well in St. Domingo." The proprietors were in peaceful possession of their estates; cultivation was making rapid progress; *the blacks were industrious, and beyond example happy*. So much for the "terrible consequences" of a general emancipation! This peaceful and prosperous state of affairs continued from 1794, to the invasion of the island by Leclerc in 1802. The attempt of Bonaparte to reduce the island to its original servitude was the sole cause of that sanguinary conflict which ended in the total extirpation of the French from its soil.

In the second place—when Gen. Butler talks of "letting loose four millions of *worse than savages* upon the homes and hearts of the South," he uses language deceitfully and foully. Those four millions are not what he describes them to be; and if they were, their enslavement as chattels would be a revolting crime—for they, too, would have an "indefinable right to liberty" as broad and as sacred as that of Gen. Butler or his soldiers. But the negroes are not of a savage nature, but remarkably docile, patient, slow to wrath, reluctant to shed blood, fearing and forgiving to a wonderful degree. It is their remorseless and inexorable masters who are "worse than savages," as those who have gone from the North to the South should rise in rebellion to obtain their freedom, they would be led to the perpetration of "brutalities too horrible to be named," beyond what white men would commit under similar circumstances. On the contrary, they would be very likely to learn so far to the side of mercy as to defeat their own end, and make their subjugation comparatively easy. It would be their white enemies who, with their passions "set on fire of hell," would unquestionably proceed to commit such devilish deeds as would cause the earth to shudder. It has always been so. See what was done by the demonized Virginians at the time of the Nat Turner insurrection! Who were the "worse than savages" then, Gen. Butler?—Here are a few examples:—Innocent colored persons were sacrificed without mercy to the excited passion and hot revenge of the whites in pursuit. One of them was put to death by torture. They beat him with red-hot irons—cut off his ears and nose—stabbed him—cut his hamstrings—stuck him like a hog—and, at last, cut off his head, and spiked it to the whipping-post, for a spectacle and a warning to the other negroes! The wish was frequently expressed that "the d—d negroes might all be exterminated." In other instances, the flesh of their cheeks was cut out, their noses and ears cut off, their jaws broken asunder, and then set up as a mark to shoot at! At Wilmington, N. C., Nimrod, Dan, Prince, and Abraham were all shot gallows Hill, and their heads stuck on poles at the four corners of the town!

Gen. Butler supposes himself to be better than a negro slave: he is no better. He assumes to have a better right to freedom: he has none. He would shed the last drop of blood in his veins sooner than own a master, or wear a chain; but he volunteers to put down slaves nobly struggling to recover their manhood. This is not to be a hero, but a dastard. Granted the right of Gen. Butler to fight for his own liberty, and the right of every plantation slave to do so is established. What "horrors" may grow out of it is not the question: these cluster about every war. Wait till the present conflict be terminated, if you would "sup your fill of them"—for the South is thoroughly demoralized, and there is no conceivable atrocity, in the perpetration of which she will not take the initiative: her hatred burns with hellish intensity, and she will assuredly commit "brutalities too horrible to be named," if Northern men or women fall into her hands at this juncture. In such an event,

Gen. Butler promises not to be outdone on the score of barbarity!

"If dishonorable means of defense," he says,

"are to be taken by the rebels against the government—if men are to be attacked by poison, or

stricken down by the assassin's knife,—the community using such weapons say to be required to defend itself within its own borders a more potent means for deadly purposes and indiscriminate slaughter than any which it can administer to us."

That threat means "all the horrors of St. Domingo"—nay,

more, it is a justification of them all, in case of a slave insurrection!—because that is to resolve a bondage, "one hour of which," says Thomas Jefferson, "is fraught with more misery than ages of that which we rose in rebellion to oppose."

Men who are grievously oppressed, however de-

graded by the acts, are not, when aspiring to be free, to be clasped with brute by representing their eman-

cipation as "letting them loose."

Woe be to those

who conspire to keep them in their chains!

It is a misuse and an abuse of language to say, that giving men their natural rights, and all the means of develop-

ment and happiness, is to "let them loose," in an evi-

dent sense.

On the contrary, it is to obey the will of God—to

conform to the law of nature—to place the soul of man in right relations, and under wholesome constraint,

to promote peace and good will, and stop the

shedding of blood—to do as we would be done by.

In the present case, it is to be noted that Mr.

Andrew feels it needful to speak not as a man, but as a Governor and Commander-in-Chief; that the man

keeps profound silence upon any opinion which he may be supposed privately to entertain respecting the decisive bearings of morality and religion upon the subject of slavery; while the Commander-in-Chief, recognizing two aspects in which that subject may possibly be considered, the "political" and the "military," turns from the former as irrelevant, and applies himself solely to the latter. In reading these two letters, (which appeared in last week's *Liberator*), it should be kept in mind that the writer of the former felt his individual characteristics not a little hampered by his official position; while the latter could throw his whole being, and all his relations to law, politics and morals, past and present, with complete heartiness, into the advocacy of the line of policy he had adopted.

Gov. Andrew, speaking not as a Christian nor as a

man—not even as a Republican—but only as a mili-

tary superior, objects to a certain military movement of his second in command. Gen. Butler, in defending his position from a military point of view, uses in aid of his defense, without scruple or restraint, alike his skill as a lawyer, and the ideas on politics and religion current in the Democratic party, (so called,) of which he has been a prominent member.

Having had the case under consideration from the 25th of April to the 9th of May, Gen. Butler replies, at length.

If his reply be effective, and sufficient for

his justification, it is through the force of the following allegations, queries and hypotheses:—

1. The State of Maryland (where the transaction in question took place) was a loyal, not a hostile State, and its loyalty was confirmed, and strengthened

for future trials, and its confidence and good will were secured by the course under debate.

2. His official business in that State was to maintain

its laws, as well as those of the United States, against

hostile demonstration, whether of freeman or slave,

black or white.

3. Looking at his probable future position in a State

hostile, and not at all loyal, surrounded by that servile

population which is to be viewed (with the military

eye) as one of the inherent weaknesses of the enemy

—he inquires of the Governor—shall he proceed

by "allowing, and of course arming," that population, to rise upon the defenceless women and children of the country, carrying rapine, arson and murder—all the horrors of San Domingo, a million times magnified—among those [enemies] whom we hope to re-unite with us as brethren?"—shall he and his troops

"make war in person, upon the defenceless women and children of any part of the Union, accompanied with brutalities too horrible to be named?" Finally, if he may not in person do this, may he "arm others to do so," over whom he can "have no restraint, exercise no control"? Do "moral and Christian," any more than military considerations, justify him in "letting loose four millions of *worse than savages* upon the homes and hearts of the South"? If this is to be done, some one else must be found to do it.

4. If a hostile State requires his protection against its slaves, that State, in effect, by that act, acknowledges itself already subjugated, and may then be properly treated as a friendly State, and will undoubtedly show itself such.

5. Dishonorable methods of opposition to the United

States government and soldiers, by those now in arms

against them, are not to be expected or presumed.

But, in case such should be used, may he consent to do that which he now declines.

I believe this is a fair statement of Gen. Butler's case.

For convenience of reference, I have italicized

some expressions in it, meaning to designate thereby

MAY 24.

THE SOUTHERN RIGHT OF SECESSION.

DEAR SIR.—Doubtless you have been educated in the political school of Gen. Hamilton, as expounded by Daniel Webster.

On the other hand, I have been educated in that of Thomas Jefferson. Perhaps your political education has been a fortunate circumstance for you, while mine has been an unfortunate one for me. It is, therefore, very likely that we will never see eye to eye as to the nature of our government, though I trust that we do as to human rights generally.

Let me first correct an inadvertent error in your reply to my letter of April 14th.

I certainly neither professed nor denied your several specifications against the seceding States, further than to assert "that the seceding States have not perpetrated treason."

Now, if I understand the theory of the "Garrison Abolitionists," they assert that the Federal Constitution is a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell." That the Federal Government has always been administered as such a compact is frankly granted.

And if such is either the nature of the compact, or the fact of its administration, then the "Thoughts on Treason," by the Rev. Beriah Green, cannot be easily refuted.

"The Secessionists" and the Unionists "are enlisted, the one and the other, in a deadly warfare with humanity." The former have been engaged in this war for two whole centuries; the latter, ever since the adoption of this "agreement with hell."

It is time that this joint "warfare against humanity" was at an end; and, in my humble opinion, the States that fight to maintain this "agreement with hell" are just as guilty before God and man, as those that fight to sever the vile connection.

"Perhaps," concludes friend Green, "they may timidly clear the way for something essentially other than now obtrudes its ghastliness upon our loathing thoughts. Heaven grant it!"

To this—"Heaven grant it!"—I cordially respond a thousand hearty amens, from the firm conviction that this can by no possibility be justified but upon the absolute, prompt and unconditional manumission of every slave in the confederacy.

To me, it seems to be utterly impossible that a acknowledged "covenant with death" and an agreement with hell" can have any binding, legal or moral obligation whatever. The very nature of such a compact renders it nugatory—nay, absolutely null, void, and of no force. "Fraud," says Vattel, "vitiat all contracts."

Hence, the present war, to enforce "an agreement with hell," which of necessity must be fraudulent, is unrighteous—it is truly "a deadly warfare with humanity."

No one will question the fact, that the slaveholders are divided as to the best policy to maintain slavery. The one and knowing ones, especially those holding a large number of slaves, adhere to this "agreement with hell" as the ark of their safety, because they know that the States now fighting to enforce it against the slaves are determined, strong and subservient to the cause of slavery. On the other hand, the recklessness of slaveholders, who believe in their ability to maintain their "peculiar institution" without the aid of their late joint allies in crime, go blithely and foolishly for secession, because they fear that the free spirit of the North may give a new version to the Federal Constitution.

They well know the impregnable position of the "Radical Abolitionists." "Spooner's" Unconstitutionality of Slavery" has opened their eyes to the dangers that may await them in the future. They know that the temper of the North, if once aroused, can overthrow this "agreement with hell" by administering the Federal Constitution, in accordance with "the plain sense and intent of the words used in that instrument," as an anti-slavery document.

If we must fight for the Union, for God's sake, for humanity's sake, let it be for an anti-slavery Union, and not for this accused "covenant with death," and this "agreement with hell."

Let Congress, when it meets on the ensuing fourth of July, either acknowledge the independence of the "Confederate States," or promptly and unconditionally abolish slavery in every State of the old confederacy.

For if the States have the right to institute, maintain and uphold chattel slavery, they are entitled to the same right to secede in order to maintain slavery, if, in their estimation, such a course is necessary to secure the institution. If, on the other hand, the Federal Government has the right to subdue the seceding States into submission, there can be no question, either about the right, or the duty, of abolishing slavery, and thus removing the cause of secession. No better evidence of the truth of this position need be given, than the rude haste of Senator Seward, and others, to strangle in its cradle the young giant Hercules of the North, (the Radical Abolition party,) by an "irreconcileable" amendment of the Federal Constitution prohibiting the abolition of slavery in the States, federal action.

This vile profligacy of making this "covenant with death," and this "agreement with hell," not only plain and perspicuous, but "irreconcileable," is not yet abandoned by the reconstructionists.

Let the true friends of immediate emancipation, whether "Garrisonian" or "Radical" Abolitionists, not be deceived.

The reconstructionists intend to triumph.

Mr. Everett, in his "milden speech in Congress," pledged himself to carry out this "agreement with hell."

And this pledge, notwithstanding the scathing rebuke of John Randolph, has never been withdrawn.

Mr. C. M. Clay, in his speech at the Cooper Institute, New York, emphatically declared, though admitting the criminality of such a course, that he would go for "the destruction of the black race," should the African slaves take up arms to vindicate their liberty. These," continued Mr. Clay, "are the sentiments which I have always avowed. Further, I believe them to be the sentiments, so far as I know, of the members of the great Republican party of these States."

Judge Douglas, in his late speech before the Legislature of Illinois, emphatically pledges himself to this "agreement with hell." He says, "On the contrary, if there was an attempt to invade those rights, to stir up servile insurrection among the people, I would rush to their rescue, and interpose, with whatever strength I might possess, to defend them from such a calamity."

There are three leading statesmen, who, in their respective parties, by and through an unjust prejudice against color, exert an almost omnipotent power over the masses, on the question of emancipation.

The other day, I remarked that nothing could justify this war but the emancipation of the slaves.

This remark was met by an avowal of abuse against the poor negroes. One said, that if they were set free, they would steal, rob and murder. Another, that no white woman would be safe, if the "d—d buck niggers" were set free. Another, that they would go South, "wipe away every G—d—d nigger," and whip the traitors."

B. G. WRIGHT.

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Poetry.

For the Liberator.

THE RISING OF THE PEOPLE

BY GEORGE W. PUTNAM.

Anxiously a waiting people held their stated day of rest—
Quietly the April Sabbath's light died in the distant west;—
When skyward looked the watchers, and on their startled
gaze—

Fell the light from Sumter's burning walls, and northern
heavens ablaze!

"FOUL TREASON'S CUP HATH BREWED AT LAST!—THE
CROWNING DEED IS DONE!"

Thus the lightnings flashed the tidings from rise to set of
sun;

And then, as if th' Archangel's trump through Heaven's
concave rang,

Eighteen millions from their sleeping to a life intensest
sprang?

Clear in that lurid light stood forth the dark pines of
Vermont;

The man of Hampshire saw its glare on the White Hills'

rampart front;

I pierced Maine's tangled forests, lit the waves of Aroon,
took,

And Connecticut's granite boulders with a shuddering
horror shock.

On country church, on hill-side farm, on city dome and
spire,

On myriad masts, on crowded decks, played the forked
tongues of fire:

With the hideous story laden, Ocean's waves, a white-lipped
sea,

Fell and faint'd as they told it to Rhode Island's shore of
sand!

Glares afar o'er battle grounds, like the red flames of hell,
Pillar on the Green at Lexington and Bunker's shaft it fell;

While green old Massachusetts' face with wrath beneath
that sky,

And through the land her iron heart beat sudibly and
high!

The dwellers in Manhattan's Isle saw bloody Treason stalk;

Like the deep growl of thunder answered the voice of
York;

As sped up Delaware's broad bay the sentinel's alarm,

Doffed her drum the Quaker city—bared for Right her
sinewy arm!

All her generous offers spurned and scorned, her counsels
set aside,

The bruis'd cheek of the North once more glowed with her
ancient pride;

At sight of Freedom bleeding, Peace lost her wond'ring
charms,

And the ery went thrilling through the land—"Ho! free-
men, now to arms!"

New England answered with a shout; and from each
Vermont glen

The brave Green Mountain Boys came down, with Hamp-
shire's mounted men;

The white tents of the Volunteers stretched inland from
the shore,

And Bunker's Heights and Concord Green are bivouacs
once more!

I read with proudly swelling heart, O Bay State—native
mine—

In the fore-front of battle, as in the days lang syne—

Ere yet the trump had sounded, an Angel of the Free
Thou stood'st, with one foot on the land, and one upon the
sea!

And from Connecticut's farm homes her yeomanry, in
pride,

With the stanch troops of Rhode Island, came marching
side by side;

The vast metropolis in arms to meet the tyrant power,
Gave to the cause of Justice the noblest of her dower.

Up Northward from Long Island Sound the ery went hu-
rying past,

And rolled across the inland seas like Ocean's stormy blast;

Along the Palisades it rang, and up the Mohawk vale,

And backward came the trumpet's clang and drum-beat
on the gale!

All through the inland counties leaped the electric fire,

And answered promptly stalwart youth, mid age and hoary
sire;

And 'tis said that pointing Southward from where El-
ba's martyr lay,

Is seen a flaming hand at night, a shadowy hand by day;

Horsemen are trooping o'er the hills, wagon loads of armed
men

Are hurrying down the country roads from hamlet, grove
and glen;

Ten thousand country-church-bells ring out their warning
peal;

Through the trees the sunshine glances on the passing
Northern steel!

And all in line for marching, on many a village green,
With loving friends around them, the country troops are
seen:

Hearts are swelling, tears are falling, as the white-haired
pastors pray

God's blessing on the soldiers ere they go upon their way.

Westward roll the thrilling tidings; manly voices, high
and rough,

Show from the up-bound steamer's deck as she sweeps
beneath the bluff;

While high aloft the "stars and stripes" are proudly
waving o'er,

Her warning gun the story tells along the echoing shore.

Swiftly up the river ravine roads the hurrying horsemen
rush,

Shouting hoarsely as they gallop through the prairie's
softened hum;

To field, to forest sugar-camp, lakeside hut and inland
town,

On speed the word two hundred miles ere yet two suns go
down.

Quickly the hunting-shirts are donned, and in the morn-
ing's gray,

With their rifles on their shoulders, the men are on their
way;

Matrons, sisters, wives and sweethearts, grouped around
the cabin door,

Wave their blessings on the hunters as they seek the river
shore;

On the hunters who have followed the grey wolf to his
den,

The sons of bright Iowa, and Minnesota's men;

Now to hunt the hideous human wolves who make of man
a prey,

With firm set lip and springing step they hasten on their
way.

Even where Starvation's scythe, like midnight made the
dawn

Where the tottering forms are many, and the faces pale
and wan,

Long bruised and suffering Kansas, once crushed 'neath
Slavery's ban,

Claims for her eager riflemen the front of Freedom's van.

Wisconsin, at the summons, gave up her chosen ones,

And Illinois sent forth with joy the noblest of her sons;

And when with silent drums the troops came marching
Alton by,

They heard the voice of Lovejoy's blood still calling to the
sky!

Ohio, from her thousand vales, Indians, from her plains,
Send forth their hosts to meet the foe up from the land of
chains;

They troop from all the lake-side homes of distant Mich-
igan,

From Jersey's fields, and Delaware, who kept her faith
with man.

Down from the Alleghany range they rush like mountain
streams,

And when they move the earth grows light beneath their
pennon's beams;

Their thunder-shout for FREEDOM answers the old bell's
call,

That rang her birth-peal years ago o'er Independence Hall.

In the cities merchant princes rain down a golden shower,

Ah! Beauty comes, as ever, to await the trial hour;

Who

All day the nimble fingers sew, all night beside the lamp,
And Woman's voice and step are heard e'en now within
the camp!

The clang of bells, the bugle call, tramp of steeds and
hurrying feet,

The ponderous artillery thundering down the crowded
street;

The myriad flags, the shouts, the songs, Beauty's proud and
bright array,

The "stars and stripes" from countless masts floating
adown the bay!

The greeting so fraternal borne sweetly on the air,
The gatherings round the altar, the solemn voice of prayer;
While high o'er all the anthem peal of LEBANON is heard,
Tell how deeply, tell how gloriously, the nation's soul is
stirred.

O God! the grandeur of this hour hath ne'er been seen on
earth Since storm-rocked in old Faneuil Hall, fair Freedom had
birth—

Since her beacon flamed at midnight, and at sound
signal horn

The yeomen went to Concord on that other April morn!

The cold, dead Northern heart hath burst, and from its hot
depths pour

The festering wrongs of weary years, like waves on Mem-
phis' shore;

The blow that fell on SUMMER, by New England unfor-
given,

The outrage and the murders, and the insults piled to
Heaven.

The tramp of marching legions, the crash of thousand
drums,

And cannon's thunder, mark the hour whence Retribution
comes!

And the Northern States, like giants, southward move in
awful form,

The blows that fell on SUMMER, by New England unfor-
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